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WORKERS OF THE
WORLD UNITE;
YOU HAVE NOTHING
TO LOSE BUT YOUR
CHAINS:

Revolution or Evolution

By J. LORIOT

We are revolutionary — what does that mean? It means two things, first that we believe that without a revolution the transition from the capitalist to the communist regime is possible, and then that we are determined to place all our material and spiritual means at the service of the Revolution.

But there is an essential question to answer in which the war and the revolutionary situation brought about by the war have created a profound split in the French labor movement: What is Revolution? Such a question if put previous to 1914 would sound ridiculous. Everybody understood that a revolution was an illegal sudden, and inevitable violent overthrow of the present social system. True, there were people who thought that the right of coalition and the ballot were sufficient instruments for the complete liberation from the pressure of capitalism. They too called themselves revolutionists, tho in reality they were reformists, such as no longer exist in the C. G. T. (Confederation generale du travail). The question then is to come to an agreement on the word "Revolution." "It is not," says Jouhaux, "the catastrophic act that determines the overthrow of a system, but on the contrary the long process of development which gradually penetrates this capitalist system, the action which grasps a regime and creates within the regime a new organism. Herein lies the revolution for the conscious revolutionaries, and it has never been otherwise in the C. G. T."

It is entirely possible that the C. G. T. always had this idea of revolution and had never made much distinction between the "catastrophic" act and the process of development; but there will always be people in the C. G. T. who have had and still have quite a different conception of the Revolution than the present secretary of the C. G. T.

I am certain that I am expressing the thoughts of some of these when I assert that the revolution is not that slow development at all that ends in the establishment of a new order, but that the old system cannot be overthrown without the use of more or less violence, according to the strength of the opposition it meets and the degree of the conviction of its necessity on the part of the masses. The idea of this long, slow, peaceful and legal Revolution crowned by the formula of Proudhon, "The workshop will make the government disappear," is itself very delusory. Why exert oneself to tear down the old building, which beneath its ruins threatens to bury all society, if without danger and without exertion one can gradually replace the old stones with new? Why expropriate the owner of this building without delay when

him and slowly convince him that it is time for him to get out? Unfortunately this idea is a delusory and a dangerous Utopia.

Doubtlessly the development of society affords a striking analogy with the phenomena of the reproduction of species. Like the human embryo so too the social embryo at first finds in its milieu the conditions and the material for its development. But just as the birth of the little human shakes the foundations of the life and health of the mother, so the birth of this new social being can take place only with severest shocks to

the old body, so severe that the old body is ruined by it. In his pamphlet, "From Science to Action," Karl Dadek shows us that the concept of the mechanical transition from capitalism to communism is a chimera and even contradicts the materialistic concept of history. Capitalism isn't thru at all, leaving us a ready basis for the new order, but it has failed because the difference between capital and labor was already too great and could no longer be bridged over.

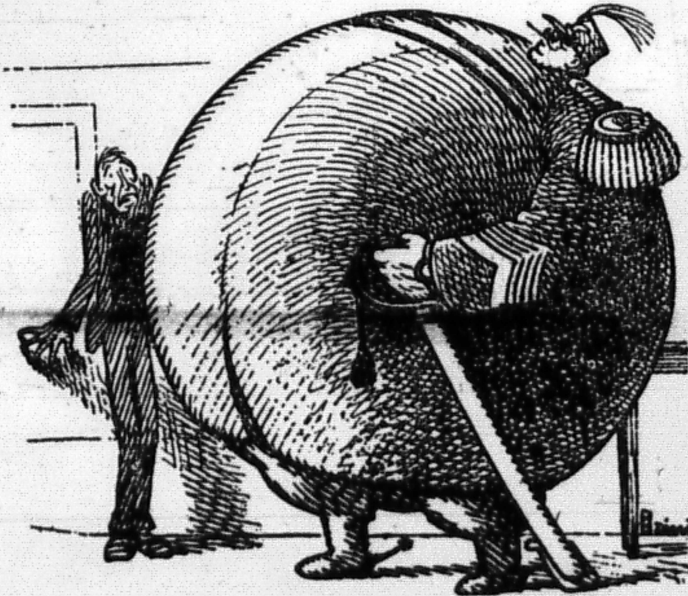
The new "Revolutionism" of Jouhaux, freed of the abstract

formula of Proudhon, "The workshop will make the government disappear," is nothing but bourgeois phraseology. To reject violence is very good! No one hates it more than we, and not one of us likes it for its own sake. To keep every catastrophic act from the Revolution is splendid! But the conception of a process culminating in the substitution of the workshop for the government is rather hazy. I beg Jouhaux to explain this point, which he too has left in complete darkness, without evasion and without a whole lot of noise.

On the goal we are agreed. The establishment of society wholly upon production was the idea of Marx. Today it is that of Lenine. If proof of this is needed it will suffice to read the latter's speech, delivered in Moscow before the Highest Economic Council. These two men have the advantage over Proudhon and Jouhaux, of having discovered the conditions for the triumph of the proletariat the first scientifically, and the other recognized the hour for their practical application.

Karl Marx who shows in a brilliant manner the evolution of capitalism, culminating in the Revolution with the dictatorship of the proletariat, has thus determined a long history of mankind which events thus far have proved correct. The secretary of our C. G. T. now goes to work to write a new one in which he shows that the first has been superseded, and in which he completes the thought he indicated all too briefly in the last national congress. Let him now tell us how the attempts of the past to make the classes work together for the betterment of the conditions of the working class are to succeed so well in the future as to bring the worker into his own at last. How will the proletariat, that is constantly being enslaved anew, be able to transform the capitalist regime into one in which the social classes and the state have disappeared? How does he propose to change capitalist democracy and their organs of domination, the economic, administrative, parliamentary, — constitutional and non-constitutional government organs, of the large newspapers, — into organs of power in the hands of the triumphant proletariat? And finally, admitting the possibility of the liberation of the working class thru evolution, let us just imagine the tremendous span of time until the idyllic metamorphosis has succeeded sufficiently for the workers to have any idea that they have "revolutionized" anything.

Jouhaux will have to answer and if he is honest he will have to admit that he is either incapable of grasping the reality of things, or that he is consciously a demagogue, and that in either case he is not justified in aspiring to the position of a director and leader of the proletarian movement.



Avanti.

MILITARISM: If you don't like me' looks, get off the earth.

One of the Incidents of the Class Struggle

Against the dismal background of the policy of suppression which is widely practised now by the American capitalist class towards the American working class movement, the assassination of several union leaders which occurred a few days ago at Bogalusa, La., stands out as a bloody stain.

The conditions under which this murder was committed are as follows:

At the above mentioned place a large timber concern known as The Great Southern Lumber Co., had locked out about 2500 workers because they remained loyal to their organization and refused to leave it. A relentless struggle began between the unions on the one hand, and the industrial beasts of prey on the other hand. The latter at once resorted to the services of a group of white, like patriotic

ruffians who had marked a Negro labor agitator as one of their victims. Knowing that the Negro would not have escaped being lynched if left to himself, the union leaders decided to personally defend him. On November 22nd, when the doomed Negro was walking along the street in the company of several white union leaders, a mob of armed mercenaries of the Company chased them into a garage and shot them all.

The victims of this attack were L. Williams, the President of the district organization of the American Federation of Labor, and three other union leaders — A. Buchillion, T. Gaines, and J. O'Rourke. The first three were killed, the latter severely wounded.

What has occurred at Bogalusa is merely an incident of the class (Continued on Page 2)

THE COAL MINERS AND THE "PUBLIC"

In every strike of national importance which affected the interests and the welfare of a considerable portion of the nation, the press and all the other instruments of capitalist society invariably waged a bitter campaign against the proposed struggle for better conditions in the interests of the public. Recently the interests of this same public have been the object of particular solicitude on the part of our capitalistic rulers. The railway workers' strike, the steel strike, and now the coal miners strike, were all of them practically prohibited by the authorities in the interests of the public. In the interests of the public, traction companies refuse to consider the demands made upon them by their employees delivering entire cities into the hands of merciless automobile and bus extortioners. In the interests of the public Mr. Gary and the Steel Trust heads refused to confer with the striking steel-workers. In the interests of the public the administration has enjoined the leaders of the coal strike from committing any act that may further the struggle of the coal miners, thus taking sides definitely with the coal operators who precipitated the entire situation by refusing to confer with the Mine Workers' Union.

Who is this public? The majority of the men, women and children that comprise the nation. Hardly, for they are of the class that toils for its livelihood, that knows that in the strike lies the workingman's only redress against the outrageous exploitation of the ruling class. As a matter of fact, not even the United States government considers that the "public" is recruited from this class. For in Federal Commissions, and on arbitration Boards whose duty it is to investigate or settle difficulties between capital and labor, the representatives of the public is usually recruited out of the ranks of that class that is the most reactionary element of which the country can boast, the successful, wealthy corporation counsels and their like, when he is not—as was the case in the recent Industrial Conference where Mr. Rockefeller, jr. represented the public—a dyed-in-the-wool member of the capitalist class himself.

Consciously or unconsciously, in the eyes of the rulers of the nation, there is but one public whose interests must, above all, be safeguarded—the members of the capitalist class and its beneficiaries. The union that gives up its right to strike in the interests of the "public" has sold its birth-right for a mess of pottage. The union leaders who call off a strike in the interest of the "public" has delivered his men into the hands of their enemy, the exploiting class.

Comrade Ludwig Landy has been engaged by the National Office for special organization work among the Jewish Federation of the Communist Labor Party. Please send all information that might be helpful to the National Office at once.

ONE OF THE INCIDENTS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

(Continued from Page 1)

struggle which is now at its height. The shooting of workers during a strike or a lockout is by no means a new phenomenon in America. The capitalist assassins have shed the blood of workers on former occasions. They do it every time it seemed to them that in this manner they could break the will of the workers and conquer them.

But the capitalists also have other means which they employ for the same purpose—weapons by no means less fatal to individual workers as well as to the entire proletarian movement. One of these criminal methods was and continues to be the pitching of one worker against the other, the fanning of nationalistic, race hatred. In the United States, with its manifold national composition, this infernal weapon is being widely applied. The American worker is being incited against the Russian, the Pole—against the Jew, and so on, and all of them combined—against the Negroes. The massacres of Negroes which have become more frequent during the last few years, only bear testimony to the fact that the base provocation which the predatory capitalist is using for the purpose of directing the attention of the backward proletarian, from the actual causes of their hardships, is bearing its poisonous fruit.

No doubt that the Louisiana

lumber merchants have also attempted to sidetrack the struggle, started against them by the workers, into the channels of race hatred. Their hirelings intended to lynch a Negro—a labor agitator and thus to impose upon them the wild notion that the Negro calling upon them to fight against capital is the alleged cause of their misery. But their provocation failed. The union leaders have responded to it in the only manner worthy of proletarians, who understand that the workers of all races and nationalities are their allies and brothers, that they are all equally suffering under the yoke of capitalism and that only by uniting their forces can they put an end to this oppression.

And realizing this, they could not stand by indifferently while the mercenaries of the capitalists attacked one of them under the pretext that their victim was a worker of another race, attempting to snatch him out of their midst and thus cause confusion in their ranks. They had to take up the defense of their brother—the Negro, and they did.

They did not hesitate to give their lives. They fell in an unequal fight.

They have set a good example. And the more self-sacrificing workers of all nationalities we have, ever ready to give their lives for the cause of the proletariat,—the fewer victims we shall have and the sooner will the working class win its final victory over its enemies.

War Restrictions--- and War Restrictions

There seems to be some difficulty in deciding whether or not a state of war still exists in the United States. The attitude of the powers that be in the various restrictive and war measures that were considered necessary while hostilities with the Central Powers were going on, has been so inconsistent and so confusing that the people of the country are having some difficulty in determining whether the country is still at war. Immediately after the armistice was signed the restrictions placed upon the sale and consumption of various foodstuffs were dropped. The railroads were turned back to their owners, thus setting aside another vital war measure. The sale of coal which had been regulated by a series of stringent restrictions was released. The railroads, that during the war, had been forced to buy their coal according to regulations adopted by the Railroad Administration in order to systematize coal production, were once more permitted to buy in the open market. They bought of course, under a competitive system, completely disorganizing coal-production all over the country, creating surplus stocks and consequent unemployment in one place and shortages, with a consequent speeding up of labor in others.

On the other hand espionage laws remained intact and in force; war-time prohibition went into effect. While the restrictions imposed upon capital are practically non-existent at the present time, those against organized labor are still in full force. The

dead-lock in the strike of the Mine Workers' Union is a case in point. More than a year ago these miners demanded the adoption of a new wage scale that would to a degree equalize their wages with the increased cost of existence. They withdrew this demand at the time with the understanding that a satisfactory agreement should be reached when the war was over. In view of the fact that all restrictions upon the operators of the coal mines have been removed, the miners regarded themselves absolved from their war-time promises as well. They submitted proposals to the operators, that were promptly thrown out. But the government, instead of acknowledging the justification of this belated demand supported the mine owners, declared the war to be still a fact, and prohibited the proposed strike of the miners by injunction.

There is method in all this madness. For the capitalist war is over because for him it has meant a curb upon unlimited profit-making. For the working-class the war is still going on—for the measures put into effect to protect the nation from betrayal into the hands of the Germans furnish the most effective check upon the growing restiveness of the working class.

Linn A. G. Gale, Geo. Barrera, and A. P. Aranzo were elected delegates to attend the next meeting of the Third International to represent the communists of Mexico. Dmitri Nikitin, E. H. Arce and Angel Bernal were elected alternates.

FIGHTING OVER THE SPOILS

The Senate did not "condescend" to ratify the peace treaty between the Allies and Germany, worked out in Paris and brought over to this country by President Wilson. After four months of seemingly endless debates, speeches for and against it, after deliberations of committees, after amendments have been made and voted upon, the Senate has finally rejected it. The treaty has been rejected in that form which it has been brought here by President Wilson as well as in the amended form, with all the reservations which have been embodied in it upon the suggestion of the leaders of the Republican Party in the Senate.

Now, Wilson's followers in the Senate and outside of it, are attempting to lay the blame for the failure to ratify the treaty at the door of the Republican Senators. The latter are shifting the blame to the Democrats. Reproaches and accusations are being hurled on all sides quite profusely. The press is devoting whole pages to the "unexpected event." The official circles are very much upset, the commercial spheres and the stock exchange are in a state of commotion.

But all this is merely a tempest in a teapot. Nothing "fatal" has really happened to those interested in the fate of the treaty. If the treaty has not been accepted now in the shape in which Wilson would like to have it adopted, it will be ratified later in a somewhat modified form. But even if the treaty were entirely rejected by the Senate, it would be no calamity insofar as the position of the United States as a great power which participated in the war is concerned. The United States would not have lost its prestige, or its power, neither would its voice lose weight in the decision of questions of an international character, nor would its policy change one iota.

The noise which has been raised in the Senate while the treaty was being discussed, gradually increasing and reaching out beyond the Senate walls, almost assuming the character of a scandal after the treaty had been rejected, does not really differ from the ordinary noise accompanying any political quarrel between the old bourgeois parties of America. This time, again no serious differences of principle can be discerned between Wilson's followers and his opponents. The main and fundamental points of the treaty—the points of disgrace, treachery and cynicism which transform the entire world into the estate of a band of Imperialists, and the nations of the world into their serfs—have turned out to be equally acceptable to both sides. The fight is really centering over trifles, which have always formed the essence of every political dispute among the ruling bourgeois parties of America.

In this case one of such political fights has been started and the outcome of it is to be looked for next year. Both parties are already preparing for the next presidential elections which are going to be held in 1920 and both are preparing weapons for de-

Revolutionizing Asia Victories of the Soviet Troops

"Istvestia" gives an interview with the chief of the Afghanistan Mission, Prof. Bara Catulla, who has come to Moscow to establish permanent relations with Soviet Russia. He is a member of the Musselman League at Delhi as well as a member of the Congress of Indian Nationalists. On the situation in India and Afghanistan he gives the following information: "I am neither a Communist nor a Socialist but my program is above all to drive the English out of Asia. I am an irreconcilable enemy of European capitalism in Asia, represented chiefly by England. In this respect I agree with the Communists, and in this respect we are the natural allies of Soviet Russia. When in March, 1919 in Afghanistan Emir Ram-annula, a hater of England, came to the throne, I was sent as a confidant of the new Emir to be an extraordinary representative at Moscow for the purpose of establishing permanent relations with Soviet Russia. Thereby the new Emir broke the treaty with England obliging Afghanistan to enter into no diplomatic relations to any other country but England. The first governmental act of the new Emir was to grant full political amnesty and to proclaim constitutional government. I believe this is only the first step, that this is not the end of the Revolution of Afghanistan, since the ideas of communism have taken root in Afghanistan and the neighboring countries. Afghanistan like India, is not a capitalistic state, hence it is possible that parliamentary government will not gain a foothold in this land."

"It is hard to say how events will develop. I know only one thing that the well known appeal of the Soviet Government to all peoples, urging them to take up the fight against capitalism — and for us capitalist is a synonym for foreigner, or better Englishman, — has made a tremendous impression upon us. Still greater is the impression made by the annulment of all secret treaties concluded between the imperialistic governments and the old Russia, and the proclamation of the self-determination of nations, no matter how small. This act united with Soviet Russia all the exploited peoples of Asia and all parties that were otherwise far removed

cisive battles. It may be expected that both parties will find enough trifles in the treaty to serve them as material for their campaigns.

They will adopt the treaty also for the reason that they require an official peace, on paper—that peace which does not in any way prevent one from preparing for war or from so-called "peaceful" annexations, which, to put it painfully, reduces itself to open robbery.

Such a peace they will get. But they shall not have a real genuine peace. Besides, they are not interested in such a peace. Only those who are truly interested in the peaceful cooperation of nations, namely — the working class — can give to the world a true peace. But to accomplish this purpose they have to snatch the government out of the hands of the bourgeoisie which is dying out and take it into their own hands.

from Socialism. These acts effected the revolutionizing of Asia. The English have recognized the menace of the Russian slogans and taken every means to bar all paths from Russia to India and especially to isolate Afghanistan. Hence the advance of the English to Merph, the attempt to conclude an alliance with Buthara, and finally the creation of a front in the Fergan region with the aid of the Russian White Guards, in order to prevent the spread of Russian influence to China. But it is possible to take possession of territory and subjugate small tribes, but it is not possible to dam up great ideas. I believe the English have already missed the decisive moment. The ideas of the Bolsheviks, which we designate as Ist-rakiyun, have already penetrated the Indian masses, and a little spark of active propaganda should suffice to cause a grand revolutionary conflagration thruout all of neutral Asia.

"In India the same conditions have been ripening for the Revolution as existed in Russia in 1917. India has been in the literal sense of the word under military dictatorship for 33 years, and the Indian people are exploited much worse by England than the workers of any land. While before the war isolated provinces were suffering starvation, today all India is starving because our foodstuffs are being used to feed the Allied armies. Pest and gripe in the year of 1918 alone have, according to English statistics carried away eight million human lives. For the past year industrial strikes and open revolution have flared up here and there in India. The most revolutionary province is the Province of Bengalia, which forms so to speak the intellectual center of the Revolution. The most active is the province of Junjab, which borders on Afghanistan."

—The Red Flag.

The last few weeks were marked by victory after victory of the Red Army over the troops of the czarist generals. In the East, in the West, and in the South the gallant defenders of the proletarian revolution have taken, in the course of these few weeks, a number of new cities and towns where the Red Banner is now flying.

The success of the Red Army is beyond doubt and the bourgeois military experts cannot but recognize the fact.

In order to appreciate the real significance of these victories one must bear in mind that the Red Army was compelled to wage an offensive on three fronts simultaneously. And as a result, Yudenich is crushed, Kolchak has lost his "capital," Denikin is sandwiched between two forces — the Soviet troops from the North, and from the South, the mutineers who, according to the latest communications, have in their ranks some 70,000 men.

Yudenich's army is defeated and surrounded. Its commander-in-chief has turned out to be a general without an army. That his situation is hopeless is shown also by the fact that he was compelled to resign from the office of commander-in-chief. This may yet save him personally, but not his army. Surrounded on all sides and cornered on the borders of Esthonia, which is now conducting peace negotiations with the Soviet Government, Yudenich's army will either surrender or be wiped out.

Kolchak has evacuated Omsk and is moving eastward. His army is completely disorganized, split up into separate detachments and is retreating in disorder. Under such circumstances, with a demoralized, fleeing, panic-stricken force, it is impossible to offer any

serious resistance to the enemy who is pursuing Kolchak's army. And if we take into consideration the fact that detachments of Red volunteers are operating in the rear of Kolchak's forces we will see that the miserable remnants of his disrupted army are doomed to inevitable destruction.

Denikin's fate is in no way better. The counter-offensive which has been started by the Soviet troops is meeting with considerable success. Denikin was also forced to retreat. And, like Kolchak, he too has to contend, in his retreat, with mutineers. The entire South is being swept by an uprising against a band of brigands who call themselves the "Volunteer Army," and almost the entire Black Sea coast is in the hands of the population which has revolted against that "Volunteer Army." Denikin is in a trap and there is no way out.

Bourgeois military experts in reviewing the campaign of the Russian fronts are expressing their astonishment at the fact that the military power of Soviet Russia, after two years of incessant fighting against her foes, is strong enough to carry on a decisive offensive on the three main fronts. They are striving to find purely strategical and tactical causes for this state of affairs in order to explain the military success of the Red Army.

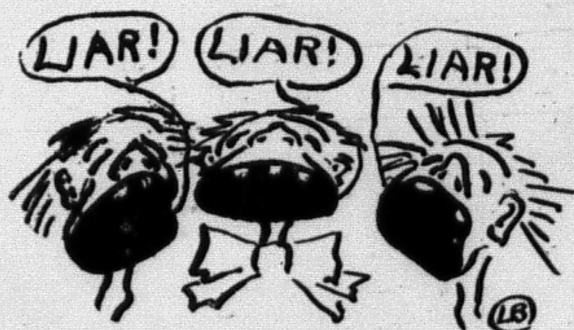
There is no doubt that to a certain extent strategic and tactical causes are among elements making for the Soviet victories. But they are not the main factors. The essential thing here is the truly conscious attitude of the Red army toward the difficult task which has fallen to its share. The important thing is the revolutionary spirit and the realization of its duty by the proletariat, which enabled Soviet Russia to create a well organized, thoroughly disciplined military organization and to use it against the foes of the revolution in Russia and the world over.

The Soviet troops are the army of the Revolution. They know what they are fighting for. They know that they are waging a real war of emancipation. And they are not driven into battle by force, or against their will, but go into it with head erect, with their red banners unfolded and with a determination to win or to die.

It is the revolutionary spirit of the Soviet troops and their understanding of the character and aims of the war they are waging that furnish an explanation of the remarkable victories which they are gaining on the battlefields.

The First Russian Branch of New York has just donated \$25,000 for the Defense Fund the active members have pledged themselves to put in a day's wages each. They have also decided to donate twenty per cent of the receipts from the entertainment to be given on the 31st of December in Parkview Palace.

The Communist Party Replies to John Reed



Dear Ben:

The accompanying sketch is Louise's impression of the Communist's reply to my article in the Worker's Dreadnought. If calling a man bad names and making a loud noise will get them anywhere they certainly are headed toward the millennium full speed. But I can't help thinking that while they are making all this display of pure idealism and "the truth and nothing but the truth" so-help-me-God, they fell down a little in that story they printed in the Communist World about my going to Europe. They printed this yarn, which they

manufactured themselves, for the express purpose of having me hounded by the authorities. Well, just supposing that it had been true, they committed a straight counter-revolutionary act in giving out this "news" to the enemy.

However, I don't think the Luskars are worrying. If they want me they can find me soon enough either by telephone or by calling at my house. I'm feeling a little better now and ought to have the book finished within a month, then I hope to pitch in again on the paper and relieve you fellows a little.

JOHN REED.

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Capitalism, altho doomed to go the road of all decrepit systems of human society, the road into past history, today makes its supreme effort to show itself in all the glory of healthy power and unconquerable strength. And while it climbs the ladder of imperialism with undreamed of possibilities of profit-making, and while it proudly proclaims itself the last stage and highest form of the development of society, it shudders at the thought of a fall, clamors for preventive measures, thereby proving that its own faith in its superiority is somewhat shaky and that its existence is founded not upon its worth but upon the police club and the machine gun. Every action of capitalism, instead of strengthening its position, is actually compelling the forces sponsoring the New Day to break thru the darkness of existing misery.

Capitalism, upon entering its imperialistic stage, fought the class-struggle consciously in the interests of the capitalist class, and to this end directed its activities against the revolutionary aspirations of the working-class. The world war was a war against revolutionary Socialism because it was a war for imperialism. Thus capitalism recognizes the reality of the Social Revolution, organizing and directing its forces for the impending battle.

What is the duty of the revolutionary proletariat in this crisis? Is it to recognize the existing state of revolution and clear the decks for action — or is it to continue the sweet dream of Socialism content with the thought of it, wasting valuable time in scholastic hair-splitting, and exhausting its energies in the expensive but fruitless sport of reforming Capitalism.

On this decision depends victory or defeat.

The revolutionary proletariat of the world realizes this. It realizes that the time for action has come. Not to merely talk about revolution but to fight for it has become the task of the socialist movement. It expresses this awakening in the Communist movement the world over.

As Communism in the time of Marx stood for the Socialism of science, so Communism today stands for the Socialism of action.

The Socialists of the second international expressed its condemnation of Capitalism by the power of words, programs and manifestos.

The third international, born in the midst of revolutionary battles in Moscow, prepares for the destruction of Capitalism by the revolutionary activity of the working class. *It will not merely talk about revolution—it will fight for it.*

The Communist Labor Party of America together with communists the world over, realizes the necessity of revolutionary action by the working class.

It realizes that this action must be by the masses of the workers.

It realizes that the strength of the worker does not rest in his quality as a citizen of the capitalist state but in his social position as a worker.

It realizes that this social position, that of the producer of all necessities of society, which makes society dependent upon the working class, is common to all workers and can be used by them in a mass, as a class, for the revolutionary purposes of the proletariat.

It also realizes that the roots of a revolutionary organization of the workers must be where they can draw upon the strength and the revolutionary activity of the masses.

It, therefore, proposes to create the contact between its organization and the toiling masses by means of shop-and factory-committees until it not only represents the revolutionary struggles and aspirations of the proletariat, but is the fighting working class itself.

This is the program of "Communist Labor," the national organ of the Communist Labor Party.

Not from the pedestal of phrase mongering, but as a worker among the workers, it will endeavor to interpret current events in the light of communist understanding. It will further that understanding with the masses so that not only revolutionary action will be placed in the hands of these masses but also intelligence of decision as to when and how to act.

The real fundamental basis of the C. L. P. conception of Communism is also that of the "Communist Labor," *an uncompromising and unswerving onward march toward Communism over the ruins of Capitalism and over the bridge of a proletarian dictatorship.*

A compromise is a concession to the enemy, an acknowledgment of weakness. A victory gained by such a concession is, in the last analysis, a victory for the enemy.

Tho it realizes that the duty of the working class of America is to carry on its struggle upon the local fields of battle of class warfare "Communist Labor," nevertheless, recognizes the international character of that struggle and will be guided in its educational and propaganda work by the needs of the international revolutionary movement. The third international will be the general staff directing its activities, our duty will be in the adaption of its orders to the local needs of the revolutionary class struggle. These local needs are in all instances the strengthening of the position of the working class until that class can set up its own will and power as the governing force of society, using that power for the destruction of capitalism and the building of communism.

The class struggle for us will be not an abstract theory but a live issue, the issue confronting the proletariat everywhere. To fight in it is our purpose, to end it is our aim.

TO THE PROLETARIAT OF THE WORLD

Comrades:

The phenomenal treachery has just been accomplished. The power of the Soviet in Hungary has been shattered by the blows of the imperialist brigands and as a result of the monstrous treachery of the socialist patriots, the leaders of the Second International who have supported the imperialist butchery have caused the failure of the international strike of protest. The imperialist pillagers, Clemenceau and Wilson at their head, have lost all their modesty. Their ultimatum was thus conceived: Overthrow the government of the Soviets and we will let you live in peace, and thus is revealed all the baseness of which the former Socialist Democratic Party was capable. It had given its oath of fidelity to the proletariat dictatorship. It had signed an agreement with the Communist Party of Hungary, more than that, it had amalgamated with that party. At solemn assemblies, at the Congress of Soviets, at the congress of the party it had declared that it would fight for communism and the revolution to the last drop of blood. It had, after having amalgamated with the communists, adhered to the Third Communist International, now it carries the brand of Cain on its forehead. It has betrayed the proletariat, the revolution and the glorious party of Hungarian Communists, the International. After having conspired with the assassins at Versailles and the counter-revolutionists of its own country, made powerful by the gold of the imperialists and the bayonets of the tyrants, it has overthrown the government of the Communist proletariat. These pure socialists are now re-establishing the right of private property. Each of the powers of the League of Nations is sending a regiment to support them. Pielde, the assassin of the workmen, the Hungarian Noske, has been placed at the head of the government.

The perfidy of the Socialist patriots has been revealed in the light of day. Like the partisans of Scheidemann and Kautsky who in Germany are drowning the proletariat revolution in blood, like the Revolutionary Socialists and the Mensheviks in Russia who are basely supporting the Tzarist generals, like the internationalists at Berne who are selling the working class wholesale and retail to the League of Nations, the Hungarian socialist traitors have delivered to the executioners the Soviet Republic of Hungary, the pride of the proletariat of the world.

There is no place in the Third International for provocateur and mercenary tyrants. Let them go into the second with Branting, Thomas, Noske and Kautzky. The Communist International, while deploring the fall of the Soviet Republic of Hungary and the death of its glorious leader, Tiber Samuel, appeals to the proletariat of the entire world to take to its bosom more closely than ever, the standard of communism, and to intensify the struggle for the capture of the fortresses of capitalism.

In the grand historic melee of today there will be great victories and bitter defeats. But the bloody example of Finland and of Siberia has shown us that in countries where the Soviets have once been in power, counter-revolution will not be able to win a durable victory. The wave of revolt is rising and spreading everywhere. Our ultimate victory and the downfall of the bourgeoisie and the socialist traitors is inevitable.

The Communist International appeals to the Hungarian proletariat to retain its solidity, its courage and its coolness. To work, comrades, to organize immediately an illegal Communist Party. The bloody fate of Hungary has shown the proletariat of the world that no coalition and no compromise is possible with the socialist opportunists. The hot-bed of mercenary opportunists must be swept clean. New men must take the leadership of the movement. These men must be supplied by the working class, for it is the working class and not its enemies that the victory will come from.

Soviet Hungary is dead. Long live Soviet Hungary. Long live the Hungarian Communist Party. Long live the revolution of the workers of all the world. Long live Communism!

The President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International:

G. ZINOVIEFF.

Moscow, August 5th, 1919.

CULTURAL ITEMS FROM SOVIET RUSSIA

Expenses for Public Education: In the year of 1917 the expenses of the Ministry of Education amounted to 300 million rubles. In 1918 the expenses for public education were three billions. For the first half of 1919 the People's Commissariat devoted four billion rubles for educational purposes. In the course of the year 1918 the publication division of the Petrograd Soviet published 11½ million books and pamphlets.

Travelling shops: In the Government of Podolsk travelling shoe repair shops on trucks have been organized which serve the poorest inhabitants of the villages gratis. Each of these trucks is accompanied by a lecturer, who gives talks on educational and socialistic subjects.

Workers' welfare for minors: The Labor Commissariat has provided for all minors working in any industrial establishment a month's vacation on full pay. The state has made provision for the transportation of these minors to districts well supplied with food and climatically favorably situated. The minors are united into groups, where they form colonies and camps, and quartered on former estates, where they are maintained at the expense of the state.

The organization of homes for mothers and children: The Department for Mother and Child Welfare of the Moscow Soviet has opened a number of homes for mothers and children. The chief aim of these houses is propaganda for the proper nutrition and care of children. In every "home" there is a lecture room, a permanent exhibition of objects intended for the care of children up to the second year, a child hospital, a kindergarten, and a nursery, in which working women may leave their children during the working hours. Here also medical advice is given and milk distributed.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

A PROCLAMATION OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

From Moscow the following proclamation is issued to all parties that have joined the Third International. At the first congress of the Communist International (Moscow, March 2 to 5, 1919) the following decision was adopted in the matter of organization: In order to be able to take up without delay the regular activity, the Congress at once elects the necessary organs, in the opinion that the final constitution of the Communist International will be given by the next congress in accord with the suggestion of the bureau. The executive power of the Communist International is conferred upon an executive committee which shall consist of one representative of the Communist Party of each of the important countries. To the first Executive Committee representatives shall be sent at once by Russia, Germany, German-Austria, Hungary, the Balkan Federation, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries. The parties of other countries declaring their entry before the second Congress of the Communist International shall receive a seat in the Executive Committee. Until the arrival of the representatives of the foreign countries the comrades of the country in which the Executive Committee has its seat shall take over their work. The Executive Committee considers it the proper time to remind the brother parties of the countries named above to elect their delegates for the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee likewise admonishes the other Communist and Left socialist Parties and Organizations standing upon the platform of the Communist International to report their desire to enter to the bureau of the Executive Committee and elect delegates to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. It requests all parties and organizations belonging to the Third International to inform the Committee of their activity, to send in documents and material on the revolutionary and socialist movement of all lands, and to take every opportunity to maintain close contact with the bureau of the Executive Committee in Moscow.

With Communist greetings,
For the Chairman of the Executive Committee, N. BUCHARIN.
The Secretary, J. BERZIN.

WORK FOR THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

A telegram from Turin to Respublica of Bern says: At the Socialist Congress in Bologna the officials of the Italian Socialist Party made use of the presence of English and French comrades to discuss the calling of an international conference for the realization of the Third International in Western Europe. After an exchange of opinions lasting more than four hours the following resolution was adopted unanimously: The French and English Socialists present at the congress called by the officials of the Italian Socialist Party hail the victorious Russian Revolution and the defeated revolutions in Hungary and Germany and determine upon an appeal to the workers of all lands demanding the complete break with all those elements which during the war did not remain true to the International. The meeting acknowledges and declares solemnly that the principles of the Third International are the principles of International Revolutionary Socialism. Judging from these declarations the manifesto will invite all the comrades of the various nationalities to work continuously to get the sections to transfer from the Second to the Third International. Wherever this is not possible groups should at once be formed to unite all those elements who already belong to the Third International, or consider themselves so even tho for the present they are still members of the Second. The appeal points out finally how very important it is that the proletariat of the allied and associate powers cause their governments to follow a different policy and insist that trade relations with Soviet Russia be resumed at once.

AUSTRALIA

An Australian Soviet

The large bourgeois London newspaper, the Daily Mail, reported yesterday from Sidney, Australia: "The inhabitants of the City of Port Darwin have become dissatisfied with the manner in which they have been ruled, and have proclaimed a Soviet Government. They requested the authorities to resign voluntarily. In order to avoid disturbances these followed the order. The Government has sent a Warship to Port Darwin in order to be prepared for any event."

To be sure we over here know neither the comrades of Port Darwin in general, nor the nature of their soviet government in particular, but since the British Government finds it necessary to send a warship things are probably all right. Perhaps soon the English cruisers bombarding Kronstadt will have "work" to do at "home?"

AUSTRIA

Bela Kun Not Given Up

Vienna, Oct. 26. — According to the "Ost-West-Telegraph," the German-Austrian Government declared, in answer to the Hungarian demand that the Soviet rulers be surrendered, that the accusations were not sufficient to prove that they were not just political criminals. The request of the Hungarian Government therefore had to be rejected. The Munich Independents have wired to State Chancellor not to assent to the giving up of Levien so emphatically demanded by Bavaria.

The Munich State Attorney, Dr. Liederich, who was very eager to bring about the delivery of Levien in Vienna went home after he had been shown that his presence and activity were entirely undesirable.

GERMANY

Leadership in Communist Party Justifies Imprisonment in "Revolutionary" Germany

Leipzig, Oct. 15. — The imperial Military Court yesterday again refused the appeal of Ernst Meyer on the injunction against him. The decision of the Senate says that leadership in the Communist Party was enough, considering the danger of this Party to the estate, to justify the retention of the injunction. On April 19, when the Court last discussed the appeal of Meyer against the injunction, it had a different justification. In that decision it said that membership in the Communist Party was not in itself sufficient, unless there was the added circumstance that the individual accused was determined to carry out the aims of the Party by every means, even to the extent of using force. The presence of this circumstance would be determined from case to case, considering in particular the personality of the plaintiff.

Thus the new decision of the Military Court makes the leaders of the Communist Party outlaws exposed to the military justice. The Court declares it immaterial whether the individual member believes or not in the use of violence or of any other means illegal, in the opinion of the military. The Military Court considers it sufficient if the member has a leading position in the Communist Party, to rob him of all citizen rights. Therewith the imperial Military Court opposes the declaration the Government of the Empire recently gave in the National Assembly.

No Elections for Workers' Councils

How the soviet movement in Germany has been degraded by the Government and its organs is proved in a declaration of the helpless Central Council announcing that it will be impossible because of lack of funds to hold the elections for the Workers' Councils throughout Germany. It depended entirely upon the National Assembly which must vote the necessary funds if the elections are to be held. Until further notice the existing councils must continue to function. The

proclamation says: "The Central Council negotiated with the imperial government, which in a circular to the governments of the German states suggested to them to consider understanding and friendly co-operation with the existing workers' councils. The Central Committee is in accord with this view. It requests all the still existing councils to stay at their posts until the soviet question has been solved as a national issue, and it expects that the authorities in the interest of the successful development of the workers' councils will create no difficulties in this period of transition."

Could there be a better picture of the degrading of the attainments of the Revolution than this declaration of impotence on the part of the Central Council? We have happily reached the point where the highest authority of the workers' councils, which are supposed to be "anchored" in the Constitution, stand begging before the bourgeois parliament.

Finally the Central Council attempts to comfort the workers with the Imperial Economic Council. There is no question that the revolutionary proletariat will not accept this mock child of the Soviet system. The development of the workers' councils will, in spite of "Central Councils" and the opposition of the Government and of its parliaments, go a different path. The workers will not beg thru their highest authority, but demand.

Celebration of the Revolution Prohibited

The head Bavarian Noske Chief, General von Mochl, has issued the following Ukase:

1) For Nov. 1, 2, and 3, All Saints' and All Souls' Days, all meetings and demonstrations of any kind are prohibited in Bavaria. 2) On the anniversary of the Revolution, celebrations may take place only on Nov 9, while open air meetings, processions, even in cemeteries, are not permissible on this day. Indoor meetings require previous permission and must be held in the morning. The number of participants reported must not be exceeded (!!) The number of large meetings will be limited to a certain number." Von Linsingen on the day before the outbreak of the Revolution prohibited the formation of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, as the predecessor of Noske in Berlin. The Bavarian Noskide ruler wishes to suppress the memory of the Revolution. What has changed since then anyway?

Split in the Communist Party of Germany

At the Last Party Conference of the C. P. G. a split occurred into a syndicalistic and a centralistic group. A proclamation of the former says: "At their Party Conference the Central Executive of the C. P. G. attacked the delegates with platform principles which had not previously been presented to the organizations for decision. At the end of these principles there was a note that all comrades that did not agree to these principles must leave the Party. These principles demand the fundamental recognition of parliamentary action and declare that the C. P. G. rejected all federalism as syndicalistic. The passage is directed obviously not only against workers' federations but also against any mass organization in which the democracy of the proletariat forms the basis of organization. The purpose of this action was to constitute the C. P. G. as a closely centralized leaders' movement, in order to assure in advance that in case of a proletarian triumph, the proletarian dictatorship could be nothing else than the dictatorship of the Communist Party, represented by the body of leaders. 18 out of 43 delegates voted against these principles and promptly declared as standing outside the Party and told to leave the Conference at once. A part of the delegates at once decided in a special conference that the split brought about by the Central Executive was aimed to break the back of the revolutionary mass movement of the German Proletariat. These delegates reserve the right to consolidate the party in a new form, and have given the preliminary work for the carrying out of this purpose into the hands of the Hamburg Local of the Party."

According to this representation, then, the decisive factor is the question of parliamentarianism, of which 25 out of 43 delegates were in favor.

GREECE

Persecutions in Greece

The Populaire publishes a letter from Greece which shows that the Entente troops have installed a ogvernment which is bringing all its power to bear against the working class. All workers' meetings are forbidden. The Chief of Police on the Island of Andros has even forbidden that two should enter the streets together. Of course, in view of the coming elections Mr. Venizelos has, in words, condemned this policy of the Government, but he himself installed this government when he went to Paris.

This description of workers' conditions in Greece is supplemented by the London "Workers' Dreadnought" as follows: "Ergaticos Agon has just now reported that the executive members of the street railway and electricians' unions have been delivered to court martial for striking for the eight hour day and against high prices. The authorities declare the strikers were subject to mobilization and therefore had no right to strike. Many leaders of the unions and the Party have been expelled from Cavella and Athens. Sailors are commandeered for work in the electrical works to act as strike breakers in case of need. But despite these persecutions the influence and power of the Socialist Labor Party is growing. For example in a short time 10,000 drachmas were collected by subscription in order to make the weekly Ergaticos Agon a daily. The lacking 10,000 will no doubt in the same way soon come into the hands of the Party executive."

HOLLAND

"Liberty" After the War

After the Republic of Switzerland had deported Clara Zetkin, the well-known Communist leader of Germany, for fear she might win the workers to her ideas, the Dutch Government refused her the permission to enter the country. The occasion was the International Conference of Socialist Women in which Clara Zetkin as International Secretary must participate. This is prevented by the refusal of the Government to give her a pass.

"The liberty that was to come after the war does not yet appear to amount to anything brilliant," said Comrade C. Poethnis-Smit in De Proletarische Vrouw, the organ of our women comrades in Holland. Unfortunately we have not heard whether the Conference is to be transferred to another country or whether it will have to take place without the participation of Clara Zetkin.

HUNGARY

The Situation in Hungary

Since a few days the "Volksstimme," the organ of the Budapest Social-Democracy, has been appearing again. From the first number we take the following report on the economic situation:

The Friedrich government right after its assumption of power introduced free trade. But hardly was the unlimited traffic in goods permitted than there developed not free trade, which is base don an excess of production which results in a race for profits and the regulation of prices, but the most shameless usury connected with smuggling, spread. Practically the measure had the effect of bringing to light, goods, necessities, and provisions from the hiding places of Budapest's clandestine dealers and greedy farmers, but at prices which the people could not pay. The excessive prices have placed the provisioning of Budapest in an abnormal condition. It is true, one can get anything for money, but since only the thin uppermost layer of the wealthy classes possess buying power, it is hard to dispose of goods and they are left over. Thereby the false impression is created that Budapest is well provided. Yet in reality the wage workers never had to endure as much hunger and privation as under this sort of free trade. The Government has made a complete fiasco of the provisioning of

Budapest. The transition from control to free trade is in itself a sign of its weakness, a proof that it is entirely incapable of state production of provisions and sale at a maximum price. In the supply of flour and bread the Government has maintained the usual system of control. But only on paper. The clandestine dealers, and lately the producers themselves, bring far more flour into Budapest than the Government. A kgm. of white flour at a bargain costs 20-24 crowns, rye flour 10-14 crowns, so that the worker would have to pay more for this amount than his daily wage. The Government has stopped the sale of white flour entirely for the month of September and promised only the sale of bread flour. But the bread flour too can no longer be had at maximum prices. In front of the bakeries one can see crowds of women and children standing hours waiting for a piece of bread. Many families are forced to go days without bread. These are scandalous conditions which themselves show that from economic grounds alone the Friedrich regime cannot persist.

The profiteers' court, it is reported today, has been dissolved. Now profiteering may have its fling. It is unheard of that even the otherwise cheapest vegetable white cabbage, the price of which in past years was 26 heller per kgm., costs 5 crowns. A kgm. of potatoes sold by the vegetable trade of the capital is dearer than a metre-hundredweight of this most important article of food of the poor people in peace time. Meat is so dear that the working people cannot buy it at all. No food at non-prohibitive prices, no fuel supply by the authorities, these are the fruit of free trade in the era of Friedrich who is frantically holding on to his power.

News about the activities of the Communist Party cannot be obtained at present, since the blood-thirsty persecutions by the government, forces all communist organizations to work underground.

POLAND

Bolshevist Propaganda in the Army

Graudenz, Oct. 6.—For Bolshevist agitation in the Polish Army the army court of Posen condemned the carpenter Fache of Posen to fifteen years' imprisonment. Also three others of Lodz, named Wicker, Neymann, Nachtigall to ten years each.

RUSSIA

Menshevist Workers Help in Defending Petrograd

The following wireless from Moscow of Oct. 20 has been received after being delayed: It explains a situation that has happily ended with the complete victory of the Workers' Government and crushing defeat of the enemies: Foreign dispatches report that Petrograd and Kronstadt have presumably been taken. In reality Petrograd and Kronstadt are firmly held by the Soviet defenders, and the Red troops, far from even thinking of a possible surrender have already undertaken a successful counter-offensive.

The serious situation of the Republic has united all parties. Following the example of the Mensheviks and the International Social-Democrats, the Social-Revolutionaries of the Right have now requested their members to at once join the Red Army in order to help the Communists all along the line to defend the land.

The Federation of the former Workers' Unions decided at an extraordinary session in Moscow to cooperate with the Committee of Defense. The Chief Committee of the Young People's

League sent its best agitators from Petrograd. The Soviet of Petrograd went to the front.

Trotsky's plan includes not only immediate and extensive strengthening of the front, but also the defense of Petrograd from street to street and from house to house. Workers experienced in handling weapons will be stationed at windows and on the roofs. All the technical means which Petrograd possesses in great quantities will be used to transform Petrograd into an enormous labyrinth, which the enemy will find invulnerable.

Czarism Newly Established

The Georgian Press Bureau, which has always been a very dependable source of information and not in the least to be suspected of Bolshevism, gave out the following report on Oct. 7 which throws a really ferocious light upon the ways of Entente "Democracy": "The Georgian Press Bureau feels itself in duty bound to issue the following reports from sure sources, in the face of European democracy:

In the territory occupied by General Denikin the institutions of czarism with their governors and "Ispravniks" have been completely re-instated. The knout works more than ever. The most cruel excesses of the darkest epoch of czarism are re-appearing wherever the "volunteers" are in power. Execution of the innocent is the order of the day. Not only are all democrats persecuted, but the use of the word "democrat" is severely punished, hence all democratic economic and political organizations have been dissolved."

Women in Russian National Economy

"A Woman Worker Who Manages a Factory." Under this caption "Pravda" writes: "In the factory that was formerly Poljakov of Moscow the women have three seats in the factory committee. One of them was elected to the administrative board. At the beginning she had to direct the large enterprise alone, without the aid of specialists and engineers despite the difficulties, however, she fulfilled her task brilliantly. Everywhere the textile factories were being shut down because of shortage of raw materials and fuel. But the factory which was managed by the communist woman is running to this day. The factory has a dining hall, a nursery, and schools. Meetings and concerts are held. The workers are housed in healthful, residences formerly belonging to the masters. All this is due to the untiring effort of the woman worker who is managing the factory.

Clothing Factory No. 3 (formerly Stou), Moscow. The chairman, the secretary, and the cashier of the factory committee are women; they are highly efficient and are fulfilling their tasks skillfully. In connection with the factory there are a school, a good library, and a reading room. Singing courses have been instituted and music instruction will be given.

IF ARRESTED NOTIFY NATIONAL OFFICE

Whenever a Party member of the Communist Labor Party is arrested because of propaganda or organization activities immediate notice should be sent to the National Office, giving the particulars.

It is intended to give to unknown local Comrades the same legal defense that is available to characters of national renown. As far as funds permit the interests of all Party members will be safeguarded in the doing of the Party work.

CAPITALISM AND COMMUNISM

The occasional raid that marked the war-period has blossomed out into a systematic campaign of raids, investigations and indictments now that the war is over. For the capitalist class has found within its own country an enemy more dangerous than militarist Germany. The revolutionary movement and its organizations have become the object of its attacks.

During the war the Socialist Party was the recipient of persecution by the ruling powers, because it was the organized expression of a comparatively strong anti-war sentiment. Today the permanent interests of capitalism predominate. And the movement that most directly endangers present society, the communist movement, becomes the object of the entire aggressive forces of its governmental machine.

There was a time in the history of the socialist movement of this country when it was practically impossible to get so much as a press notice concerning socialist activities into a capitalist newspaper. We liked to imagine at that time, that it was because they were afraid of us, that they feared that the mere mention of the existence of a class movement in this country would bring crowds of listeners to our meetings and would endanger the existence of our fair land. As a matter of fact, nothing was further from their thoughts. Where our activities were not ignored because the public was so completely indifferent to them that as news they were not worth the space upon which they were printed, the editor left them out because he vaguely felt that it was ridiculous, and perhaps a little "indecent," to print such things in a perfectly respectable paper.

Then came a change. The Socialist Party began to win tangible victories, victories that capitalist reporters and editors could understand. It elected its candidates, it polled a large number of votes; the old conception that the Socialist was something between a pirate and a degenerate vanished. The constant emphasis placed upon the purely political character of the movement, the careful concealment of its fundamental revolutionary character, the insistence of our speakers and our press that the "social revolution" meant simply a change in the society brought about by the will of the majority through the ballot finally the support, that this perfectly respectable party found among honest bourgeois liberals—all these things caused the old indifference to vanish, giving place to a new attitude of polite interest or amused tolerance. The fact that the elected socialist officials proved to be perfectly reasonable individuals who made no attempt to divide up the fortunes of the more successful members of the community allayed any mild tremors that may have existed in some timorous hearts.

It is not difficult to imagine what the future of our movement would have been, had not the world war shaken the nations of the earth out of their course. We would have continued in our "successes," would have elected more and more men into office; we would gradually—oh, very grad-

ually—have managed to gain sufficient power in the American legislatures to actually force the adoption of a number of reform measures; while, to an appreciable extent our influence would have made itself felt in the other parties whom our insistence upon an extensive program of social legislation would have forced to concessions. With our agitation we would have educated public opinion to demand reform after reform, only to have, one or the other of the old parties capture our thunder by putting these reforms into effect with a sufficient quantity of red tape to render them painless to the ruling class and useless to the workers.

There was always an element in the Party that was more or less openly dissatisfied with this eminently satisfactory state of affairs. They protested against the programs that were adopted year after year in our national, state and municipal conventions, because of the overemphasis placed upon the immediate demands and the role to be played by the working class under capitalism. They objected to the attitude that was being adopted by the Party, and particularly by its leaders, which regarded the proletariat in the light of a practically passive recipient under a system of socialist paternalism—a proletariat whose duty lay in voting for the candidates of the Socialist Party on election day, while a small fraction of the voting strength of the party gave its time and its energy to the propagation of the socialist political program. There was nothing in the Socialist programs, minimum of recent years, that suggested active participation by the working class in the work of its own liberation. Our programs usually ended with the ringing words of Marx and Engels, "Workers of the World Unite" and "The emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself." But nowhere did we indicate that Marx and Engels ever conceived of a union of the proletariat and a liberation of the working class except by the election of sufficient congressmen, assemblymen and aldermen to capture the governmental machinery of the state?

It was only when the German Social Democracy crumbled before the first onslaught of the world war, carrying with it the majorities in practically all national party organizations in Europe, that the eyes of the comrades here were opened to the consequences of the course we were pursuing. Then came the Russian Revolution of November, 1917, completely changing the outlook of the entire international socialist movement. Up to this time our ultimate demands, that is, the part of our program that dealt with the aspiration of the socialist movement for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system and the socialization of industries in the interests of the working class, had functioned in the work of our party as a criterion for the socialist character of the immediate demands rather than as a definite program of action for the socialist movement. Even among party members there was only the haziest conception of the means by

which these socialist demands were to be realized. The Bolshevik revolution, almost over night, threw into the foreground of party life questions of fundamental significance that had hitherto received practically no attention from the rank and file of the membership. It showed that the social revolution, when once it comes, will be accomplished neither by pure and simple bourgeois parliamentarism, nor by the sort of promiscuous bomb-throwing that figures in the American press whenever the word Bolshevik is mentioned, but that the overthrow of capitalist society can and will be accomplished by the action of a determined, class conscious and united socialist proletariat. It showed the difference between mass action which is the manifestation of power by large groups of the organized proletariat and the actions of individuals or small secret groups goaded to madness by oppression. The German revolution and its tragic fate at the hands of the German Social Democracy under the leadership of the super-parliamentarians has but served to strengthen the impression the Russian Revolution created.

No Socialist movement in the world has passed through this crisis unscathed. So long as the ultimate aims of the movement were subordinate in importance to the immediate political needs of the party, the differences, even though they undoubtedly existed, could be smoothed over. Each year the campaign served as the great leveller, under whose driving force all differences were crushed out of existence. But now that these aims have become a matter of immediate concern they have assumed such enormous dimensions that no power on earth can push them aside.

The communist movement, therefore, that has grown out, to a large extent, of the dissatisfaction of the membership with the methods and principles of the Socialist Party presents a different program. It is founded upon the aims of the first Socialist International; its methods are an adaptation of these principles to the needs of the modern revolutionary movement in our imperialistic age. Its political action is the political action of the pioneers of the socialist movement, of Marx and Engels opposed to its narrow-minded use by their interpreters.

The violence that meets the coming of the Communist movement in the United States shows that the capitalist class is not prepared to meet this new force in the nation with the polite indifference that was accorded to the socialist movement in the past. The arrest and indictment of our comrades Larkin and Gitlow, of the Communist Labor Party, the arrest of Bedacht, Taylor, Dolsen, Whitaker, Tobey, Smith and Snyder in California, the looting of the Cincinnati and Oakland party headquarters, and the threatened indictment of others as soon as these test cases are decided, shows that they fear the power of the new movement and the force of its appeal. In spite of Russia and of Germany they have not learned—because no ruling class can ever learn—that revolution thrives upon oppression. Drunk with power, desperately afraid of this new enemy that is raising its million

FOURTEEN BIG REASONS

HERE THEY ARE:

JIM LARKIN
BENJ. GITLOW
MAX BEDACHT
JAMES DOLSEN
EDRIC B. SMITH
CYRUS TOBEY
JOHN C. TAYLOR

ROBERT WHITAKER
J. E. SNYDER
SAMUEL HANKIN
ANITA WHITNEY
JACK CARNEY
P. B. COWDERY
EMIL HERMAN

REASONS for the immediate mobilization of DOLLARS so that we may keep them all in continuous party service.

Capitalism has laid its sinister hand upon these fourteen. Engaged in party pursuits, they were arrested MAINLY in order to induce you to desert the organization—to induce you to QUIT the fight for workers' freedom.

These arrests will not have that effect. No arrests will ever have that effect upon the party membership. Arrests but strengthen our ranks, encourage courage, develop determination.

All this will be proven in the mobilization of dollars for the defense of Larkin, Gitlow, Bedacht, Dolsen, Smith, Tobey, Taylor, Whitaker, Hankin, Whitney, Carney and Herman.

• RIGHT NOW—Send your dollars; get dollars from others.

Defense first—but not less important and probably more important is ORGANIZATION—for organization means power and as our power increases, persecution will decrease.

HELP NOW!

DOLLARS PLEASE!!

heads to devour them, they are striking right and left in blind fury. But in their blindness they fail to see that two heads are growing where there was one before; that every arrest will only add to the popular appeal of our cause. For in the Communist Labor Party capital opposes not an idea, but a living, breathing, vital fact; not a political program, but a revolution, the revolution, that is taking possession of the proletariat, a revolution that will come not as a gift from the leaders in the parliaments of the land, but out of the mills and shops, the mines and the railroads, with the hearts and the hands of the working class.

WILL YOU HELP KEEN MEN OUT OF JAIL?

All that have any property that might be offered as bail to keep arrested Comrades out of jail are invited to send their names and addresses and amount of property available to the National Office of the Communist Labor Party. This information will be held in strict confidence and you will not be called upon unless the need is urgent.

GET OFF THE FENCE

Locals and Branches that have not yet decided for either Party are invited to get off the fence at once. Surely enough time has elapsed since the conventions for every member to know where he stands. After January 1st, ALL organizations that are not then affiliated with the Communist Labor Party will be looked upon as being opposing political organizations. Bring this up at your local or branch meeting and insist upon action one way or the other before that date.

PARTY WORKERS WANTED

Every Communist Labor Party member who can qualify as an organizer, a lecturer, or a personal field worker and canvasser, is requested to communicate immediately with the Organization Department at the National Office. A campaign has been mapped out that will mobilize the services of every member that is willing to quit working for capitalism and to devote his time to the upbuilding of the Communist Labor Movement. Let us hear from YOU.

LESSONS IN "AMERICANISM"

are now being conducted daily by organizations calling themselves the "American Legion," the "American Protective League," the "Lola Legion" and similar names.

In Centralia, Washington they taught respect for "Law and Order" by attacking the I. W. W. headquarters, lynching one of our fellow workers that defended himself, burning all literature and furniture and hunting like beasts through the forests all workmen of "radical tendencies."

In Oakland, California, they taught the workers to "Love the Flag" by ransacking the Communist Labor Party headquarters, burning over two thousand dollars worth of our literature in the public streets, and beating up fearfully an ex-captain in the army, a veteran of the world war, who did not properly appreciate this administration of "Law and Order."

Away down South in Louisiana they conducted a class in "American Institutions" by shooting to death some white union men who walked peacefully along a public street with a negro union organizer.

In Cincinnati they taught "Respect for Private Property" by applying the torch to all the Communist Labor Party's efforts.

In scores of cities they are inculcating the "Principles upon which this Republic was Founded" by suppressing all meetings of workmen and women who gather to consider their common problems.

And these capitalistic hirelings and bourgeois hoodlums have the monumental gall to accuse US of advocating a resort to "crime, violence, sabotage and unlawful methods of terrorism."

A TIGHT CORNER

In the course of a debate on the Russian question which is now in progress in the English House of Commons, Lloyd George made a few statements bearing testimony to the utter confusion that reigns among the Allies on the question as to the practical steps that are to be taken by them towards Russia in the near future.

"In whichever direction we go," he said, "we are marching into a fog."

This statement made by Lloyd George sums up the entire Russian policy of the Entente countries.

They have used all means at their command, they have tried everything and yet they have failed to achieve anything resembling positive results from the point of view of the Allied imperialists. They began by rendering unofficial aid to Russian counter-revolutionists, then followed armed intervention; whole provinces were occupied and new governments established; new buffer states were created on the boundaries of Russia, finally a stringent blockade was declared which is still being maintained,—but all of these measures were in vain. Billions have been spent in the attempt to crush the Russian Bolsheviks, but they continue to exist and like Soviet Russia, are daily growing stronger and more powerful.

Lloyd George is in despair. He does not know what course to take. He cannot afford to fold his arms; on the other hand, whatever course he takes he is bound to run up a blind alley. If he helps the "buffer" states bordering on Russia—the czarist generals who are striving to "united" Russia are liable to take offense; were he to help in the realization of the plans of the czarist generals—the border states which are jealously guarding their "independence" will be insulted. To leave Bolshevik Russia alone is impossible, for then she may at any moment crush her enemies. On the other hand it is not safe to continue intervention, for all interference with Russia's domestic affairs, according to Lloyd George's own statement, has always ended fatally for its sponsors. The only thing that remains is to give "moral" aid to the Russian counter-revolutionists, but this is hardly an effective measure. Sending ammunition and money has proven to be both ineffective and dangerous. Tax payers at home are threatening to go on strike and that would be driving out the devil with the devil's grandmother.

SUBSCRIBE, AND GET OTHERS TO DO SO

"VOICE OF LABOR"

The SHOP COMMITTEE periodical of the Communist Labor Party. Replete with SHOP PROPAGANDA. Appeals to the worker in the SHOP because it talks SHOP.

ONE YEAR, \$1.50

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"THE CLASS STRUGGLE"

Monthly educational journal of the Communist Labor Party. An education between the covers of every number. Being used by many locals in study class work. Copies of the November issue, special edition in celebration of the Second Anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic, still to be had.

PER COPY, 25c.

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SUBSCRIBE, AND GET OTHERS TO DO SO

Communist Labor Party News

STRAIGHT AHEAD —THAT'S ALL

These are "straight ahead" days comrades.

Never was there a time more propitious, more advantageous, more inspiring for the performance of our duties than today.

Capitalism, in its decay, is suffering mental aberrations. It kicks about aimlessly — aimlessly because it is in hysterics — it sees its finish!

And so everything goes. Arrests by the hundreds; encouragement of mob rule; insane advice to its supporters; beastiality; ruthless violation of the very laws it made to protect itself — everything goes with capitalism today. Its scribes now call the United States constitution a "silly document"; advocate the "hemp rope route"; spit upon the "foreigner."

Capitalism is mad—stark mad! And we are cool—cool and playful.

Straight ahead — nor loitering, nor rest. Straight ahead with our propaganda. Straight ahead with the organization work. Straight ahead with the many details so essential to the building of power.

Arrests and destruction of party headquarters are commendations of our loyalty to the workers. Imprisonment holds no terrors for the comrades at the front. Unrest is rampant and it becomes our duty to give it intelligent guidance, no matter what the cost in persecution and revenge.

Every comrade we say — **STRAIGHT AHEAD!**

Every comrade we say — **TO WORK, NO MATTER HOW SMALL THE SERVICE.**

Impregnate the workers with confidence and a knowledge of their might. For years they have been "held up" by points of law and at the point of guns. For years they have been vomited upon by the class on top.

And now capitalism is sinking and communism is rising. The master class is going down and the working class is going up.

So steady, comrades.

KEEP-A-GOING!

STRAIGHT AHEAD!!

UNANIMOUS

Braving the white terror of the Pacific Coast, the comrades of Washington state met in convention a few days following the Centralia lynching. The delegates unanimously decided to affiliate the party in Washington with the Communist Labor Party. The platform and program of the national organization were adopted for the state party.

The stand taken by the state organization has already resulted in the rebirth of locals in the state which the Socialist Party had disgusted. The official affiliation of the Washington party with the Communist Labor Party means an addition of 25 locals and more than a hundred members at large to the C. L. P. roster.

LITERATURE

Here's our advice. Let every member of the party constitute himself a literature agent, purchase a number of the books and pamphlets listed below at the wholesale price, sell them at retail, reinvest the proceeds in more literature — and keep up the good work until we win.

PROGRESS IN OREGON

Oregon is one of the least populated states in the union, yet even there the C. L. P. is making remarkable progress. K. W. Oster, the state secretary, reports that the German, English and Estonian branches of Portland are showing "speed" and that Salem and the Scandinavian branch of Astoria were now with us.

Samuel F. Hankin, one of the comrades who assisted in the organization of the C. L. P. in Chicago, recently arrested, is out on ten thousands dollars bail. His hearing is set for December 1st, and Clarence Darrow and Ernest Reichman will be the attorneys in the case. Local Cook County (Chicago) voted to place an organizer steadily in the field.

E. T. Allison, the new state secretary of Ohio, did not waste a minute in getting into action. Three organizers are already in the field and more will be engaged as applications for this work are received.

HERE'S HOW IT HAPPENS

Some industrious comrade decided that the cover of the piano owned by the local at Oakland, Cal., needed a washing. It was washed. Not having a clothes line handy, he hung it over a case on the wall which happened to contain an American flag. A newspaper man for one of the Pacific coast daily prevaricators happened in, spied the act of the les majeste to the flag, reported it to the Loyal Legion. A while after a corps of this legion expressed their loyalty by destroying about \$2000 worth of party property contained in the hall where the local meets.

"The local is making splendid progress. We are taking in many new members and old disgusted members are coming back, realizing that our organization is one of action. We are enraged over the raids and arrests, but these only prove to us that the bourgeoisie has been compelled to take notice. This is the final conflict, let each man take his place." J. S. Tampa, Fla.

Subscriptions for "The Class Struggle" and "Communist Labor" are coming in at a satisfactory rate. That party members are willing to subscribe for "Communist Labor" preliminary to the appearance of the first number speaks well for the discipline in our organization.

The national office can now supply pamphlets in the English, Russian, Ukrainian and German languages.

The day we wrote this the mail brought the national office \$20 from Lynn, \$7 from "All Inn," Cal., \$50 from the J. B. and C. union of New York, \$11.40 from Six Miles Run, Pa., \$200 from Weehawken, N. J., \$14 from Wilmington, Del., \$35.33 from Logan, Ill., \$10 from Pine Grove, Pa., \$16 from Castle Shannon, Pa., \$50 from Bellaire, Ohio, \$10 from Spirit Lake, Ida., \$25 from Miles City, Mont., \$71 from Syracuse, N. Y., and many smaller sums for subs and books and pamphlets. All of which shows that the C. L. P. is pretty well known and liked among the rank and file of wage workers.

NEW YORK VERY ACTIVE

Splendid organization work has been and is being accomplished by the German Federation of the Communist Labor Party in the metropolis of the U. S. In Manhattan we now have seven German branches; Riverside, Bloomingdale, Downtown, East River, Yorkville Branch, Nightworkers, Hellgate. There is one branch in the Bronx and two, Metropolitan branch and Corona branch, in Queens. In Kings there are five German branches: Karl Liebknecht, 19th A. D., 29th A. D., East New York and a Nightworkers branch. As high as 35 applicants have been admitted at a single branch meeting and a steady increase of membership is taking place.

In New York proper, besides the many English and German branches, the C. L. P. now has three Russian branches, one Lettish and one Ukrainian branch.

Mass meetings held in New York in celebration of the second anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic were exasperatingly successful, according to the press of the plutes. Ditto in Chicago and San Francisco. Large collections were taken and heaps of literature sold.

November 28th saw the first communist meeting in New York City since the raids. It was held under the direction of the C. L. P. with Larkin and Gitlow as speakers. More than \$300 was collected for defense.

Coming—Ball and Entertainment by New York City C. L. P. organizations.

The state supreme court of New York upheld the lower courts in a verdict of ten years against Comrades Redotoff and Teitzel, accused of being "agin" the government. The cases have been appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Funds collected in New York for the defense of Gitlow and Larkin should be turned over to the New York state office, 957 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn.

Edward Lindgren, state secretary of New York, is making an organization tour up-state.

ANOTHER ONE

The Russian branch of the Communist Party of Lynn, Mass., has decided to join the Communist Labor Party. This branch has 150 good standing members.

The Lettish branch of New York City, at its last meeting, decided to secure one day's wage from each member as a contribution to the political prisoners' defense fund of the C. L. P. Over \$300 has already been collected. The branch also voted donations of \$25 to the local and \$25 to the state organizations.

The Executive Committee of the Federation of Russian Branches, C. L. P. has sent an appeal to all its members to contribute one day's wages to the political prisoners' defense fund.

Frank Cusack of Portland writes: "There are about 40 radicals in jail here, some of them C. L. P. comrades." Another reason for becoming specially active in getting contributions for the defense fund.

DOING SOMETHING

We may not be talking much about it, but then, we are doing something. We're not claiming that we are doing everything. But we are doing something.

For instance: One of our organizers just finished a tour of the Kansas coal fields. He held three and four meetings a day. He's booked for a return trip. Just now he is in southern Illinois. Huge meetings have already been held by him in Moline, Silvis, Davenport, Rock Island and East Moline. He will spend a week in and about Joliet, and another week in the Rockford neighborhood. This is doing something, surely.

Another one of our organizers has entered the Ohio coal fields. You'll get good reports from him later. He'll do something, too.

Still another organizer is visiting the machinist unions in the east. The clothing trades are also on her itinerary. She's had some exceptionally successful meetings and hundreds more of workers have learned from her what workers' control means. That will help a bit.

Then we have an organizer who is beginning his labors among the Ohio machinists. He's a machinist and an industrial unionist and an official in the machinists' district council. He'll induce many more workers to open their eyes to the only road to workers' freedom.

A fifth organizer, just returned from Minnesota, will enter Pennsylvania shortly. We have had several urgent calls from miners in that state.

A sixth organizer is booked to enter Minnesota this week.

A seventh organizer is busy in upper New York state.

The eighth organizer has charge of the Chicago field.

And these aside from the four who are out for the language federations.

We may not be talking much about it, but we are doing something. What we are doing will make the C. L. P. a power in the class struggle. This will make you proud of the C. L. P.

Yet, you'll feel much prouder tomorrow if you, today, help make the C. L. P. the power it's going to be. **PITCH IN!**

TWO MORE

The First and Second Russian branch of the Communist Party of Philadelphia have joined the C. L. P. Both branches have a membership of over two hundred.

The Second Russian branch of New York City decided to donate \$42 to the national office for the purpose of printing and distributing leaflets. In addition a collection of \$30 was taken to establish a permanent defense fund. The members also agreed to contribute one day's wages toward this fund.

INDIANAPOLIS JOINS

The left wing local in Indianapolis, that located at Fountain Square, has applied for a charter in the C. L. P. Indiana is soon to be covered by a state organizer, after which we hope to form a state organization in that state.

AND BUTTE TOO

Local 3, of Butte, voted "to become part of the new party," writes the secretary. Once the C. L. P. gets a foothold in Butte, we shall make phenomenal strides among the many advocates of the One Big Union in that city.